412 The Telamni wooden mortar was described by
322 B.O., a Waksachi informant, during his discussion of trade (see Pt. II). The mortar was made from the crotch of an oak tree which, being of mixed grains at this point, was very hard. It was burned down to a rough size, then burned at the heart and the charcoal scraped and chopped out. This treatment was given inside and out until the desired size was reached. A slender pestle of stone was used with it.
[438] These mortars the Telamni sold to the lake-dwellers, Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol, preferring for themselves stone mortars of both large and small sizes which they also bought from the Waksachi or intervening Wukchumni.

Pottery

323 Pottery was not made by the lake tribes.[46] Even a knowledge of it in old times was denied by M.G., while J.A. said she had seen it made by Wukchumni women (M.P. and daughters) but did not remember how. My demonstration of the motor actions of making a "rope" of clay merely elicited a description of firemaking. Red clay
[134 was sometimes shaped with the fingers into
757] little dishes (ṭipe´k·l ki´was). It was chiefly valued as a medicament smeared on the chest.
[438] A reliable Wukchumni informant (M.L.) said that pottery was traded to the lake people.

Basketry

285 No detailed description of basketmaking
438 techniques was obtained from the Chunut and Tachi informants, but both had important statements concerning forms and materials. This aged Tachi informant (M.G.) repeatedly affirmed that the lake people did not make coiled baskets in old times, that the coiled pieces were obtained by trade. The Wechihit and Choinok had coiled wares, she believed, but the foothill people, Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yaudanchi were the ultimate source for lake trade. In exchange, the handsome tule mats from the lake were prized in the foothills. The Tachi, Wowol, and others dwelling in the tular used a twined technique exclusively on tule and willow materials. There is little remaining evidence of the tule wares, as they are perishable in texture and not attractive as museum pieces.

285 In the collections of the University of California are a few pieces from "Santa Rosa Rancheria, Lemoore" which might have been made by a member of any lake tribe, and a few tule baskets of miscellaneous provenience.

The following basket types were described by M.G. (see figs. 2, 3). An open conical basket (čoto´t), which might be large or small, was made of triangular tules (pumu´k). A seed

[46] Vide Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

TWINED BASKET TYPES

		YOKUTS			WESTERN MONO	
		CHUNUT	WUKCHUMNI	MICHAHAI	WOBONUCH	WAKSACHI
	close twine, always 4 red bands in plain or herringbone pattern					
1	COOKING BASKET	?	polo'no	pono	polo·n	tapondi
	close twine, stiffened with soaproot juice	obtained from the foothill tribes				
2	BURDEN BASKET	o'nas	o'lai	o'nai	wono pono	?
	medium open twine, handled					
3	SEEDBEATER	ho'lai	yamaki to'kyuk	to'phai	polo·'	tanaho
	fine open twine, no handle					
4	SIEVE	?	to'kyuk	to'phai	pu''an	?
	coarse open twine, no handle					
5	FISH SCOOP AND CARRIER	?	o'pai	to'phai	pu''an	?
	close twine; stiffened with soaproot juice					
6	WINNOWER	unknown	obtained by trade ?	obtained by trade ?	to'o'li''a	?
	open twine; cage has lid					
7	HANGING BASKET OR CASE	used by all tribes (native word not recorded)				

Fig. 2. Yokuts and Western Mono twined basket types.

[P. 569] Wukchumni / Western Mono NS25

Y 101 131 although their main village was Yeitao (Local Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther north than Lindcove.

Y 438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine acorns of the black oak.

Y [223] 439 To the east the Wukchumni went into Patwisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y [222] The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a shortage in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the above-mentioned tribes.

Y 439 437 The Tachi from the lake bought burden baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was eastward, of commodities westward.

Y M 177 [191] Very little that is definite can be learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Patwisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other informants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and culturally richer Yokuts neighbors and that they disappeared entirely during the flux and pressure of white encroachment.

M [105] Y 439 648 The Eastern Mono, called Mona ʻči by the Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (waʻtat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

411 237 322 Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's sinew, splits it up with flint into small fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints of various animals and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining -- for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow -- and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its diameter. When not used the bow was unstrung, and the string tied around the left limb of the bow, and to prevent the slightest lesion of either the bow or the string the former had a section of fur from some animal's tail, about four inches long, slipped onto it.

411 237 Arrows (toi´yuš) according to S.G., were about 2 feet long for deer, a bit less than 2 feet for bear-killing, as not more than 2 inches of the arrow extended beyond the bow when it was drawn. For small game a 4-foot, one-piece, arrow of willow (kai´wan) was used. The cane arrow (si´kɨd) had a foreshaft of oak sprout, which, when shaped to a point, was ground down on a rock and then heated over coals for hardening. Deer arrows were of cane with an obsidian tip (fig. 10, e, f) on the foreshaft. All arrows had three feathers, preferably "squirrel" hawk (šo´hup) wing feathers. The top of each split feather was fastened first, each one being inserted under a separate turn of the binding sinew. When the bottoms of the feathers were fastened down, they were laid a trifle out of line to give a slight spiraling of the feathers, "to make the arrow fly straight." The feathers had to be left wing feathers, as only one half of each feather was used, and these were always laid on with the "right side" (outside) toward the worker.[176] S.G. did not know how the obsidian [438] points were made. He says a natural obsidian was obtained from the lake people: if his statement is correct they must, in turn, have gotten it from Coast Range people.

411 237 Arrows were kept in a quiver made of a whole fox skin with fur left on. It was called a´oja timai´ya (fox sack) and was hung on the right shoulder.

Of Yaudanchi arrows Kroeber states:[177]

[176] I neglected to inquire if a left-handed arrowmaker used right wing feathers which, it seems, would be required. Possibly such a man would insert the feathers with the wrong side toward himself.

[177] Handbook, 530.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 1459] Choinimni

from the spring floods which would carry them over impeding sand bars. About ten days were required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

Ih referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hošo´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nan, southerners. The term wa´kli'u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as not. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or mutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtinan (south); wakli'u (west, possibly downstream); not (east, mountainwards); ti´pan (up); ata´l (down).

Localities

Local Map D shows the following Choinimni and Wobonuch sites.

Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. ha'ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´´o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo'a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wič: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

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[4] Ibid., 29, 30.

[5] Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

[P. 176 9] Chuckchansi

164 For acorns the Chukchansi went north to Bass Lake, said N.W. While up there they al-
222 ways feared the approach of bears.

For seed-gathering they went down toward Madera to what is now the Dobie [adobe?] Ranch.

Expeditions to get basketry materials -- roots which did not grow abundantly in the hills -- were made to the lower Fresno River near Madera. Only women who knew how to make baskets would go, accompanied by their husbands and families. They stayed away from home about
[484] a month, camping along as they went. Enough food, such as acorn meal, cooked, uncooked, or even unleached, was taken, while the men hunted for meat food as they traveled. Both women and
● [438] men dug the roots. Some of the materials brought back were sold to others.[80]

242 J.R. claims that when he was a boy the
351 Indians throughout this region set fire to the brush after the seeds had been gathered (about July). The men started the fire and the women watched to see that it did not approach the houses. When it did, it was beaten out [with what?]. "It burned the hills, all over, clean through to the next one." The trees, which were green, did not ignite easily: however, "dead trees and logs were all cleaned up that way".[81] The tree covering of this country, *J.R. says, was about as it is now, scattered* bull pine, oak, etc., and in about the same quantity.

Communities

361 Related families usually built their
184 houses in an informal group. These groups, consisting of perhaps three to five houses, would be three to five hundred feet apart, yet in toto the families regarded themselves as comprising a single village. [Such scattered house-groups were not unusual in the Northern Foothills, and "community" is perhaps a better term than "village," in distinction from the townlike villages of the Yokuts to the south.--- A.H.G.]

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[80] Today S.B. buys basketry materials from others, whereas L.U. said she would always prefer to get her own even when it is a hardship.

[174] [81] The aboriginality of this practice seems dubious. Getting firewood was sufficiently laborious for the Indians to discredit their deliberate destruction of "dead trees and logs." The practice is frequently attributed to early settlers, cattlemen, who wanted better forage for their stock, i.e., land free of underbrush, with improved grazing. On the other hand, there is evidence that shrub seeds, such as the Indians wanted, germinate better when subjected to scorching and it is possible the result was known to the natives and motivated the practice (vide Lester Rountree, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of California). Powers mentions aboriginal firing of the forest "all along the Sierra" (Tribes of California, 379). Dr. Kroeber informs me that firing of natural growth was practiced from Yosemite northward; perhaps this is about the southern limit of the custom. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 228a] Western Mono NS25

Musical Instruments

W Y 534

Flute.---This (u´tač, Michahai) was made of elderwood (wise´ta). It was about twelve to fourteen inches in length and had four holes. The pith was removed throughout. The instrument was held vertically in front of the player, but was played on one side of the mouth. To a good player one would say: ma pai´yu u´tau (you know-how to-play [anything]).

W Y 534 237

Whistle.---This (pu´sač, Michahai) was made from the shinbone of a "chicken" hawk; eagle bone was never used for this. It was about three inches long and had no reed.

Cocoon rattle.---For this instrument (ča´o´ːč, Michahai) three or four cocoons of the silk moth with pebbles inserted were tied on a short stick. It was used only to accompany the Bear Dance and Shamans' Contest.

W Y 534

Clapper.---This (ṭa´ohːl, Michahai) was an elderberry stick some eighteen inches long, split two-thirds of its length and the pith removed. It was held in the right hand and flapped against the palm of the left, never against wood or stone. It was the normal or profane accompaniment to all dance singing.

Tobacco

W Y 276 438

Tobacco plants grew abundantly in Eshom Valley, particularly on burnt-over ground, but it was a poor variety, "small and dry." Most of the tobacco used by the Waksachi was bought from the Wukchumni and other people to the south (B.O.). Only a few people knew how to prepare the plants for use, but the function was not restricted in any way.

Both S.O.'s parents took on tobacco preparation when they became elderly: it was a favorite occupation of the old. Early in spring (March-April) they would go to the plants and pinch out the center tips "to make them grow bigger." This was the only care given the plants. When the leaves were yellow and about ready to drop off (about June), they went out with large baskets and picked them; sometimes they pulled up entire plants.

The leaves were spread out on a flat rock to dry thoroughly. Then they were pulverized in a mortar hole kept exclusively for this purpose. Meanwhile the stems and roots, which had been washed in running water, were boiled and the resulting liquid was stirred into the powder to form a paste. Sometimes "another weed with a good smell" (S.O. could not identify or name it) was likewise pulverized and added to the paste.

The paste was shaped into round flat cakes (tapi´pːt) or cylindrical ones (pultu´kːn). As they were making the cakes S.O.'s parents would say, tapa´lːn nːm ti´´ːs (flat mine [I] make), or, pultu´kus ni´´ːm ti´ːs (round mine [I] make). The Waksachi terms for shapes were: a

W Y 796 276 taken to various sick persons. With eagle feathers they would brush off the sick one; although they did not say what the sickness was, the jimsonweed enabled them to see it. They were not paid for this service.

During all this time there was no mirth aroused by any of the antic behavior. Every act was watched and any speech listened to attentively by the spectators.

Thereafter the narcosis gradually diminished. The drinkers lay around, babbled, slept, and recovered "in two days if they had good luck, but usually it took three."

Six days after the drinking a little feast was held. Meat was provided, but only a mouthful or so was taken by the drinkers "because even then it made them sick." The feast was given by the drinkers' families, and at it they gave the leader the pay for his services. A winatum managed the affair. There would be dancing only if there were a special request for some doctor who was present to perform the kam.

W Y 757 752 Medicinal use was made of jimsonweed, often as a poultice for severe wounds or fractures; it was also drunk as an anaesthetic.

Once Pao'ič broke his leg. He went one day without food "although he was too sick to eat anyway." He got someone to fix tañai and he drank enough to keep him unconscious for several hours. During this time the bone was set, the leg wrapped in a jimsonweed poultice, and tied up with deerskin.

Jimsonweed was not used in this way under the direction of a shaman: "anyone who knew how" would mix the drink or attend fractures and wounds. No other medicine of this type was known.

W Y 796 276 At Čitatu also, both sexes took the drink, B.O. said, at about the ages of twenty to twenty-five. It was not compulsory and was taken but once. One who particularly wanted to might take it again after three or four years. Always it was taken in spring. While B.O. denied having tried it, he said two of his brothers did.

W Y [438] The jimsonweed plants (taña ñibᵃ) was gotten from the Wukchumni as it did not grow in Waksachi territory [sic].[191] Two men, Ki 'leš and Koti 'diš, were in charge of the ritual and were paid for their services; they were not distinguished in any way with power, wealth, or any other special knowledge. They secured the plants, mashed them, soaked them in water; the jimsonweed was never cooked.

Those who were to take the drink maintained a gruel diet for twelve days. On the

[191] S.O. said it grew plentifully at Tuñao, a statement I prefer to trust. B.O. may feel that the plants came from the original source of the ceremony, that is, Yokuts territory.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud.* Northeast of present Merriman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village on the sand flats across the river to the north was called *Unow* (Oo'-now).

The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest portion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6, T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido,* meaning Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow.* Slick Rock, on the Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin,* meaning Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named *Ahdit Wisha.* It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw,* Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu,* meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow. Tiupinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

CHAPTER III

YOKUTS TRADE

A WUKCHUMNE TRADING EXPEDITION

One of my most interesting expeditions with Indians was made when I took the Henry Ichow and George Garcia families from the Kaweah River to Dunlap to gather clay for pottery, the black paint used in their ceremonies, and to trade basketry materials. The *Wukchumne* gathered *hupud* (hoo'-pud), or cladium roots, and *chawkish*, or bunch-grass, along the Kaweah. These they traded at Dunlap for *muhnokits* (muh-no'-kits), or black sword-fern root, and *ahnup*, the red outer wood of redbud. For several years I had been planning this expedition and was all expectation as we prepared to start.

Leaving Tulare at five a. m., I drove to the Kaweah River below Woodlake and began loading. There was a fifty pound flour sack full of small bundles of hupud and a large bundle of chawkish. There were several nests of baskets, tied up in flour sacks that had been ripped open. In them were brushes made of soap root husk, salt from salt grass and several roots and herbs with which I was not familiar. Some of these I placed in the trunk on the back of the car. Then I began loading the car. It was a seven passenger sedan, but it was surely stuffed when we were all aboard.

Ichow weighed at least three hundred pounds—I slightly less. We, with William and Virginia Garcia, occupied the front seat and from it to the dash and the top. Ada Ichow, Katie Garcia, her daughter, and the three oldest Garcia girls, Letha, Helen, and Melchor, piled into the rear seat. George, Johnnie and Howard Garcia occupied the two folding seats. Every inch of seat room in the rear compartment was taken up, either by Indians, or by bundles of trade materials.

The first stop was made on the grade leading down into the old Chris Evans' Rattlesnake Ranch, below old Aukland. I heard a grunt from Ada, which Henry translated into, "You stop here." I stopped and immediately learned that the old Pierce Arrow was blowing like a steam engine.

Ada and Ichow began giving instructions in the Wukchumne language. All but the youngest children scattered along the road and began searching the cut bank. The cut had

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

123 438 484 been made into a mass of partially decomposed granite, with an overburden of about ten feet of soil. Soon Ada grunted again, and the whole expedition gathered around her. With a sharpened stick, which she used to dig basketry roots, she was digging into the soft granite and removing chunks of a heavy [317] blue-black material which she called *Kodeen* (Ko'-de-en). This, 135 I have since been informed, is a form of crude graphite, which was deposited in crevices in the top of the granite.

386 While the rest dug, Ichow explained to me how the old-time Yokuts used to prepare paint from this material and how they used to paint with it after it was prepared. A fire of dry oak wood was burned down to a heap of red coals. Then the graphite was dumped into a hole in the center and covered with hot coals from the rim of the fire bed. This was left until the entire bed of coals was reduced to ashes. After the whole mass had cooled, the burned graphite was carefully removed and placed in a bag of tanned deer-skin. Ichow later burned some of the material we gathered that day, but he did not follow exactly his own directions.

When the wood had burned to a mass of red-hot coals, Ichow placed the graphite in a portion of the bottom of a broken cast-iron kettle and sank it in the coals where it soon became red-hot. Within a couple of hours he removed the container and set it aside to cool. When I examined the material I found that it had changed character and color. Instead of being composed of several lumps of hard, heavy, blue-black material, almost exactly like the Rising Sun Stove Polish in use when I was a boy, it had slacked into a fine, sooty, black powder, in appearance like commercial lamp-black, but heavier.

[302] In this manner was gathered and prepared the black paint for which the ceremonies of the Yokuts tribes were famous. Officials who danced in these ceremonies painted their bodies black. In some tribes white stripes were painted across the chest and abdomen, vertical white stripes on the legs and arms, and large white spots on the face.

[439] White for this painting was prepared from diatomaceous earth, some of which was traded from Yokuts who lived in the Coast Range of mountains. One deposit of this crude chalk lies [317] near Lompoc and another near Crow Creek in Western Stanislaus County. It provided a pure white pigment.

[824] Both of the above pigments were mixed with plant juices to form a paint. One of my authorities, *Pahmit*, a *Dumna*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable.

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons.

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite, were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of feet.

Where the grocery store had once stood at the old ghost village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our picnic lunch in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many generations his people had visited the place, which they called *Hutudu* (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket roots, just like we do today," said Ichow.

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

123 438 484 Dunlap. None of them seemed to hurry, but with a few soft, murmuring Yokuts words they faded into the car.

At Dunlap we entered the gate of the first Indian camp. I expected them to finish their trading in a few minutes, so we could return to the Kaweah in short order. Although they [574] hurried from the car to the house, I noticed that the sack of hupud and the large bundle of chawkish were left in the car. They visited a few minutes, exchanging news of all the friends and relations. Then Ada grunted and we all trailed back to the car. On we went to another place, where the performance was repeated. I was impatient at this, as the afternoon was fast slipping away. I saw that I would probably be late for that dinner engagement, but I knew better than to say anything.

At the third place we had no more than entered the house than Ada grunted. Letha ran out to the car and carried in the basketry materials. The trade was soon made and in less than five minutes we were on our way back to the Kaweah.

On our return I asked Ichow why Ada had not traded at the first places we visited. He explained that those first people had their bundles of hupud made up too small. I remembered that bundles of hupud were hanging on the walls of the houses, but, until Ichow mentioned it, I had not observed that they were smaller than Ada's bundles. All the way home Ichow and Ada tried hard to explain to me how trading was carried on between the Yokuts tribes and how their bead money was used in connection with it.

436 438 According to Ada, bundles of cladium root and redbud wood were made up the same size. But sword-fern root was made up about two-thirds as large. Because, as Ichow translated, [484] "They had to travel a long way to get it and it had to be colored."

[195] Ichow, prompted by a few soft murmurs from the rear seat, explained at great length—great length for a Yokuts—how important it was to have everything put up in the right size. Here is one of his statements. "In them old days them old people don't got scales to weigh with, don't got yard-stick to measure with. They make that black paint all into same size [804] balls, not so big as your baseball. My old grandpa, *Che'-chin*, trade some balls that black paint for some balls white paint when I was a little boy. I see him do it. Both kinds paint they trade was in same size balls."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

438 Said Ichow, "When you trade with them people, you got
436 to know how much in their chok. You measure their chok and then you figure how much it is worth beside your chok."

In the old days one Wukchumne chok of beads of low value
435 would buy twenty bundles of hupud or ahnup. A half chok of
438 average shell beads would buy twenty bundles. Ichow explained how the half chok was measured: "You double the string
[804] after you measure one chok." Two shell beads of low value would buy one bundle of basketry materials, or one tanned deerskin. Ten average beads would buy one tanned elk skin or two tanned antelope skins.

From *Yoimut*, an aged *Chunut*, from *Pahmit*, an aged
436 *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) and from other Yokuts, I learned that both asphaltum and paint of various colors in standard pack were also traded and sold for money throughout Yokuts terri-
[804] tory. This standard size is uniformly described and approximates a size midway between that of a tennis ball and a baseball. Their statements were substantiated by archaeological remains in widely separated portions of Yokuts territory.

When the Smithsonian Institution expedition of 1937 ex-
436 cavated the old *Tulamni* Yokuts village at the east point of the
172 Buena Vista Hills in western Kern County, a number of balls of asphaltum were recovered. They were almost exactly the size described by my informers. Some appeared to have been wrapped in tules or in rabbit skin strips. This can be appreciated when one takes into consideration the stickiness of asphaltum. I also recovered similar balls of asphaltum in Indian cemeteries at Alamo Solo in southwestern Kings County, and at the Sweet Mound, about four miles southwest of Waukena in western Tulare County.

It is of interest to note here that Wahumchah states that
[201 these balls of asphaltum were burned by the Yowlumne to pro-
372] vide the black smoke for sending smoke signals.

At the Menjoulet Rancheria on Los Baños Creek in western Merced County I found two "standard pack" balls of red pigment and one of white, also several crude chunks of the diatomaceous earth from which the white pigment had been prepared. The balls of pigment showed the finger prints of the person who had formed them. In the Broder Mound (west center of Section 31, T18S, R26E, MDB&M) I recovered from disturbed burials one standard ball of black pigment, probably made of burned graphite taken from the old Yokuts diggings

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

into the desert territory where they were scarce, trade them for obsidian, which was plentiful there, return it to his own land and sell it for Yokuts shell or steatite beads, which passed for money. It will be seen from this and from what is to follow that Yokuts money represented principally the accumulation of labor.

The cheapest Yokuts money was made from periwinkle or olivella shells with the tips ground off, so they could be strung. The smaller shells were of less value than the larger. The *Wukchumne* Yokuts called these shells *Chawik*. Olivella shells were made into three forms of beads besides the one describd. They were split in half. The large, outer half was punched for a string. Some of these beads were five-eighths of an inch across and more than an inch long. In some Yokuts cemeteries these two crude forms of Yokuts money have been found in great quantities; in some instances there have been several gallons in one grave, the hoarded savings of the first penny-pinchers and nickel-grabbers of the San Joaquin Valley.

The whorl of the periwinkle was made into a thick bead having a curved edge. When strung, these nested somewhat like the snake-like gold chains made by modern jewlers. One of these beads was worth six of the shells with tips ground off, or two of the large half-shell beads. They were called *Huchin*.

From the thin lip of the periwinkle shell was made a bead which sometimes strung as many as twenty to the inch. "Two of these," said *Wahumchah*, an aged *Yowlumne* Yokuts, "were worth one curved bead. We called them *Mochowkuh* (Mochow'-kuh)." Beads made from purple mussel shell were called *Sueyuk* (Suey'-ook). From the keyhole limpet shell a hair ornament was made. Wahumchah stated that they were not common and that he did not know the value they had in relation to the other old Yokuts money.

From fine-grained steatite the Yokuts made a valuable form of bead-money. This steatite was mined by the *Yokodo* Yokuts near Lindsay Peak, east of the present town of Lindsay. It was traded or sold by them to Yokuts traders from tribes over the entire southern San Joaquin Valley. Steatite bead money was very valuable. Wahumchah stated that it was three times as valuable as the most valuable olivella beads. Near Woodville I once found a place where a steatite bead maker had manufactured and cached his product for many years. From the sandy soil I screened thousands of completed beads, as well

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

right. We just opened the tule mats for a door. We did not have a round smoke hole in the long house. The tule mats did not reach to the top. If we wanted more room for the smoke to go out, we put a stick between the tule mats at the top.

In the Indian houses we nearly always slept along the side with our feet to the fire. To sleep sidewise to the fire we called *yot'-sahn*. We dug a hole in the ground and filled it with loose tules. Then we covered them with two or three tule mats. That made a nice mattress.

For bed covers we used lots of things. The best bed cover was rabbit skin blankets. They were soft and warm. Nearly everybody had one or two. They were about as big as the blankets you white people use. We made the rabbit skin blankets out of strips of skin. When we took the skin off of the rabbit we cut it around and around in a long strip. We twisted it so all of the fur was on the outside. We twisted the rabbit skin strips into a double string as long as we wanted the blanket. Then we sewed it back and forth from one end to the other until it was a big blanket. We made blankets the same way of mud hen skins.

We had elk and deer skins on our beds, too. Some people had bear skins, too, for bed covers. But not many had that. I knew an Indian doctor who had a mountain lion skin on his bed. He bought it from a *Wukchumne* Indian from Lemon Cove.

The old-time Indian men wore a deerskin breech-clout called *trah'-keet mu-num'-hoey*. It was held up by a narrow deerskin belt called *wuh'-suk* (string). A little piece of the breech clout hung down like an apron in front. Some of the men painted colored pictures on it. I only saw one or two of the old-time breech clouts. That was when I was a little girl. After that the Indians all wore old underwear or a piece of old cloth for a breech clout.

The Indian women wore a small skirt. It was made in two pieces. They had a small apron in front and a larger one behind. They were held up by a string like a belt. It tied at the side. We called the woman's skirt *ah'-til ra'-es*. It was generally made of the inside bark of cottonwood, or of tule. Some times they used strings of twisted rabbit, or mud hen skin. They liked the twisted rabbit skin skirts best.

The Chunut and Wowol women wore a cape, too. It was made of twisted rabbit skin, or mud-hen skin strings like a small blanket. They used the wing feather of a goose to pin the cape in place.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came
291 out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their
304 nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They
[134] cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed
[302] powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo. But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

159 The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It
386 came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and
438 grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite]. Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When someone died in our family we painted
[765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

159 The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used
531 red, white, and black, and some other color they got from berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne
[438] baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

159 The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them
373 *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY
CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there
524 were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice
533 smooth place at their village where somebody played games all the time. They had lots of fun.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
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METHODS OF POTTERY-MAKING

Interest attaches to the pottery-making methods employed by Yokuts and Western Mono groups since they presumably represent the extreme peripheral cases of the Pueblo non-paddle ceramic technique.[3]

Descriptions of pottery-making were obtained from several Yokuts informants living in the foothills, but at the time the ground was too dry from the summer season to permit digging for clay. The following January a Wobonuch Western Mono informant, Jane Waley, of Dunlap, Fresno county, made pottery to demonstrate the method: her procedure corroborated the descriptions of the other informants. Her method will be taken as typical, for pottery-making is practically identical in all San Joaquin valley groups from which data have been obtained. The variations will be mentioned below.

Further corroborative evidence appears in the notes which S. A. Barrett left with his collection. A Yaudanchi woman, apparently Mary Sanwaihat,[4] made pottery for him. The method which he witnessed, and the models of pottery bases in his collections, are in keeping with the data obtained by the present writer.

Pottery-making was always a woman's task. If a man's family was in a strange neighborhood and he found a clay bed, he might bring some clay home to his wife. Not all women knew how to make pottery but this "was because they were stupid or too lazy to try," according to this informant, and not due to any social, economic, or functional restriction. Although pottery was sold to such women by those who made it, neither a standard price nor a professional manufacture developed. The "sale" was usually a friendly exchange for basketry or acorn meal.

Pottery was usually made in the spring when the ground was soft enough for digging and the sunlight sufficiently warm to dry the pots before firing. Large lumps of clay were frequently taken home, dried, and stored for use at other seasons. The necessary type of clay was reported as abundant by most informants of the pottery-making groups.

[3] R. W. Gifford, Pottery-Making in the Southwest, this series, 23:353–373, 1928.
[4] Cf. fn. 1.